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the papal court, yet, having a fair experience of many temporal courts, he can say that the papal court is the cleanest he has ever seen.

MERRICK WHITCOMB.

*Histoire de France depuis les Origines jusqu' à la Révolution.* (Publiée sous la Direction de M. Ernest Lavisse.) Tome V. Les Guerres d'Italie. La France sous Charles VIII, Louis XII et François I<sup>er</sup> (1492–1547). Par HENRY LEMONNIER, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. (Paris : Hachette et Cie. 1903. Pp. 394.)

M. LEMONNIER has had a formidable task in writing the history of the reign of Louis XII. and Francis I., for aside from the complexity of the period, there are other real difficulties. Natures like that of Francis I., of Louise of Savoy, of Marguerite d'Angoulême, of the constable Bourbon are not easily estimated; the psychological element is large, the personal equation a very variable one. Then again, the difficulties attending a knowledge of the sources is great. One may reasonably hope to consult almost all the sources pertaining to most medieval themes. But it is not so with reference to a subject in a modern epoch, for the mass of materials is too voluminous. And in the history of the sixteenth century this difficulty is enhanced in two particulars. In the first place, the sources of the period are widely dispersed. Little care was then taken in France to preserve records, save in the case of the registers of the *parlements*. Each minister of state, each ambassador or other official guarded his own correspondence and disposed of it as he chose. Thus L'Aubespine, the bishop of Limoges, who was Catherine de Medici's ambassador to the court of Philip II., carried the correspondence of his office with him from point to point, and when the Spanish king returned to Spain in 1559 all these documents were lost by shipwreck. It was the administration of Richelieu which inaugurated the change by which documents of state and the doubles of correspondence were preserved in various *dépôts*. The mass of materials comprised in the *Fonds français* of the Bibliothèque Nationale and at the Archives Nationales, and the Collection Godefroy in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut has reduced the difficulties of the historian of the sixteenth century to a great degree. Yet it still remains true that, more than in almost any other period, the sources of the history of France in this period are scattered. Aside from the familiar seats of research in France and other countries, foreign archives more remote require to be visited. In Cracow are unpublished materials pertaining to Henry of Anjou's short and absurd reign as king of Poland; and nearer home, the archives in Besançon and the manuscripts in the Musée Condé at Chantilly must not be overlooked.

Still another embarrassment arises from the unsettled form of the language. The French language experienced a great expansion at this time, owing to the influence of the Renaissance, while as yet there were few settled rules of orthography. Moreover, it was exposed to an invasion of foreign words, especially Italian and Spanish, in consequence of which influences the historian of the sixteenth century cannot read the sources.

of the period with that readiness which is possible of the documents of the seventeenth.

It goes without saying that so careful a scholar as M. Lemonnier has overcome these difficulties. But one remains, the failure to avoid which is no fault of his. The length and importance of the period from 1492 to 1547 makes it impossible adequately to treat its history within the compass of a single volume. In other words, the subject suffers from limitations of space. This volume is an *essence du travail*, the result of careful study of the many monographs that have been written upon various phases of the epoch, the whole illuminated by discriminating personal judgments. The work will probably remain for some time to come the authoritative history of Francis I. But every possessor of the volume will do well to have bound with it, if not otherwise preserved, the pages of the admirable bibliographical study of the reign of Francis I. by V.-L. Bourilly, published in the May and June numbers of the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*.

M. Lemonnier's studies as a professor of art seem to have had a happy influence over his pen. He has the French gift of generalization and illustration—for example, the comparison of Genoa in 1500 with Poland in the eighteenth century; and he has also an incisive way of portraying men. Of Cardinal d'Amboise he caustically observes, "Ce personnage reste encore aujourd'hui plus célèbre que connu" (p. 42). Elsewhere he dilates upon the cardinal thus: "Sa politique fut mal inspirée; fausse dans son principe, mal agencée dans les combinaisons qu'elle mit en œuvre. Tout au plus peut-on dire qu'il y déploya une extraordinaire facilité à varier ses moyens d'action. Sa grande force fut sans doute dans le prestige dont il jouissait, et son mérite dans une certaine confiance en lui-même, qui lui donnait cette qualité, suprême réparatrice des fautes, la décision." The concluding sentence of a paragraph upon Anne of Brittany is, "Ni comme femme, ni comme reine, cette excellente Bretonne et mauvaise Française ne mérite les éloges qu'on a répétés sur son compte" (p. 46).

The two character-sketches that excel all others are those of Louis XII. and Francis I. (pp. 41-42; 188-197). Every student of French history will hope that M. Lemonnier has succeeded in destroying the myth that Louis XII. was either a good or a great king. His stupid duplicity in 1500, his blundering diplomacy in 1503, his terrible cruelty in war always, and the shameless method in which he pursued the annulment of his marriage with Jeanne of France constitute a dingy halo indeed. It is well said that "on juge combien il était gros de scandales, au milieu du scandale même de ce procès, qui mettait en cause la mémoire d'un roi et la dignité de toute la famille royale. L'information se poursuit avec une régularité extérieure de procédure, qui est bien un trait de l'époque et qui ajoute encore à l'hypocrisie de l'acte" (p. 44). One wishes that the author had enlarged more upon certain particulars of Louis XII.'s reign, giving less space to the exploits of a decadent chivalry, especially since "tous ces exploits servaient de peu" (p. 62).

M. Lemonnier fails to emphasize sufficiently the point that Louis XII.'s policy at the council of Bologna was due more to his determination to abase the horns of the pope than to zeal for reform. Again, the peculiar autonomy enjoyed by Burgundy and Brittany practically forced a moderate provincial policy upon the king, but the influence exercised by this fact is unnoticed. The reviewer, at least, cannot help regretting these lacunae in the face of what seems to be an undue amount of military narration. One is prepared to admit the military genius of Gaston de Foix, as so admirably set forth (pp. 98-104), but the account of Bayard's prowess in duels and other feats of arms might safely have been left to the pages of *Le Loyal Serviteur*.

Some of M. Lemonnier's judgments have a piercing keenness, as when he says of Ludovico Sforza: "Les Italiens du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle ont eu pour sa politique un respect incroyable; preuve de plus que le condottierisme était au fond de l'âme italienne" (p. 11). Others are likely to be challenged by his readers, notably his conviction of the poverty of Italian political conceptions — "notre Europe politique ou sociale n'est en rien sortie de là" (p. 12) — and the view that Julius II. inaugurated nothing (pp. 111-112).

The bibliographies appended to each chapter are, as usual, excellent. But one doubts if the volumes of the *Calendar of State Papers* edited by Bergenroth and Dr. Brewer have been actually consulted in the composition of this work; for the evidence of Ferdinand the Catholic's own correspondence belies the statement on page 72 that Queen Isabella of her own will left the government of Castile to Ferdinand, to the detriment of her daughter Juana and her son-in-law, Philip of Burgundy.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

*The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803.* Translations from contemporaneous books and manuscripts. Edited and annotated by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, with historical introduction and additional notes by EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE. Vol. I., 1493-1529; Vol. II., 1529-1569; Vol. III., 1569-1576; Vol. IV., 1576-1581; Vol. V., 1582-1583. To be complete in fifty-five volumes. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1903. Pp. 6-358; 4-335; 8-316; 6-317; 8-320.)

FIVE volumes have now appeared of this, the most important and extensive undertaking ever made in Philippine history. Volume I. is chiefly occupied, besides the notable historical introduction of Professor Bourne, covering some ninety pages, with documents relating to the famous "Demarcation Line" by which Pope Alexander VI. sought to divide the world between Portugal and Spain. Though entirely pertinent (the desire to reach spice islands by a western route led to Magellan's famous voyage of discovery), one feels that it was not strictly necessary to go so in detail into the documentary history of this never-settled